

In Issues

by the so-called "Hart" incident and concerns about it. A columnist writing about first, Mary McGovern wrote that Mondale was "not, however, unexpected, let alone challenging, whose campaign is very suggests that Mondale is old, Glenn Jr., then raised the issue by stressing personal than position papers. Hart's date, with his "Where's the hole?" Hart was a hollow, it brought down by the then plagiarized charges from own Democratic spokesman's sighting. "There's the point of the character issue." Biden to abandon his bid caused by the revelation that provided the media with a — standard policy, but now considered by some sort of indecision. The thing for a staff person side, not an issue that sticks to Hart incident and the like.

anyways, that makes it all the same? This is one of the few words in the language, it's for it. It's a 14th-century English word, which means "engaging," the mark made by that last example, contains nine characters. The word "character" makes, the feature of that person from another sense, beyond "being the mark of an individual" or "the heart; the person with whom it to know what is right and good. The character issue is which a candidate fails that lies and most human beings have character," said Dan von Wendorff. Wilson less cynical a quality that cannot be defined. I will think about what you say, your character will make one byproduct." A philosopher explained it this way: "I have often thought that man's character would be as mortal or mortal animal in sickness, he left himself more dead and alive. At such moments it speaks and says: 'This is the

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As Arms Pact Nears In Geneva, Reagan Vows To Deploy SDI

By Joel Brinkley
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Two weeks before his summit conference with the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, President Ronald Reagan vowed on Monday to deploy the space-based anti-missile system that the Soviet Union adamantly opposes.

The Soviets tried to get us to eliminate" the Strategic Defense Initiative, Mr. Reagan told a group of cheering supporters at the White House on Monday afternoon. But, he said, "We will research it. We

will develop it. And when it's ready, we'll deploy it."

Mr. Reagan's remarks came even as American and Soviet negotiators in Geneva worked into the night to resolve the few remaining issues standing in the way of agreement on the intermediate-range nuclear missile treaty that is to be signed at the summit conference that starts in Washington next month.

His comments illustrate the president's dilemma as he tries to show Senate conservatives, whose votes will be important on ratification of the proposed treaty, that he is still standing tough against the Soviet Union, while also demonstrating to Soviet officials that he is not intransigent at the summit conference approaches.

On the issue of SDI, Mr. Reagan offered no flexibility on Monday. Repeating his oft-stated view, he said, "We cannot, will not bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions."

Discussion of a possible second, strategic-missile treaty is an item on the agenda for the summit conference, and the Soviet Union is expected to demand limits on SDI research as part of any strategic arms treaty.

But Mr. Reagan asserted that Soviet research on its own anti-missile system, which the president called Red Shield, "actually dwarfs our SDI."

"More than 10,000 Soviet scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone," he said, "with thousands more developing other advance technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons."

■ Progress in Geneva

Earlier, Don Oberdorfer of The Washington Post reported from Geneva:

Secretary of State George P. Shultz of the United States and Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union made progress Monday in talks on arms control but did not finish work on the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty in the first of two scheduled days of talks.

A State Department spokesman, Charles E. Kettman, said he was authorized by the Soviet as well as the U.S. side to describe the discussions as "constructive."

The central issue is the delicate problem of verifying compliance with the treaty, which calls for the elimination of all superpower missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,000 miles (500 to 5,000 kilometers).

A U.S. official said one of several points still not settled involved the details of an on-site inspection arrangement under which U.S. monitors are to be stationed in the Soviet Union for up to 15 years around a missile assembly site, while Soviet personnel will be stationed around a missile plant in the United States for the same period.

Mr. Shultz and Mr. Shevardnadze met for six and one-half hours in several sessions, and then were dining together at the residence of the U.S. ambassador, Joseph C. Petrone.

A "working group" of arms control officials, headed by a U.S. arms adviser, Paul H. Nitze, and Marshal Sergei P. Akhromeyev, chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces, met intermittently through the day.

Another set of aides met on regional issues, human rights and bilateral questions. Those talks were headed by Roxanne L. Ridgeley, a U.S. assistant secretary of state, and Anatoli Adamishin, a Soviet deputy foreign minister.

■ GENERAL NEWS

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■ Philippine Communists have taken responsibility for the murders of 3 Americans. Page 2.

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■ West German economic experts predicted tepid economic growth in 1988. Page 11.

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FOR MORE
CLASSIFIEDS

Dow close: UP 9.45

The dollar in New York:
DM 1.754 Yen 134.80 FF
1.674 5.6865

Atlanta Prison Besieged As Cuban Unrest Spreads

United Press International
ATLANTA — Cuban prisoners fearing deportation took over most of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on Monday.

They held hostages and set fire to the prison on fire as 1,000 of their countrymen in control of a prison in Louisiana continued to press their demand to remain in the United States.

In Washington, Attorney General Edwin Meese III offered a moratorium on the deportations if those who seized the two prisons ended their uprising immediately.

"The purpose of this statement is to restore order, to protect the safety of all persons involved, including those detained, and to ensure fair treatment," Mr. Meese said.

Gunfire was heard as the blazes in Atlanta sent black smoke billowing above the facility. At least 30 persons were reported injured. Heavily armed police officers and FBI agents were called in.

"The prisoners do not have guns," said Mike Calibiano, an Atlanta prison official. "The shots that were fired were warning shots, because inmates came too close to an outside wall."

Monitored radio broadcasts between the prisoners and guards in-

cluded that the Cubans controlled nearly all of the facility.

Mr. Calibiano described it as "a riot situation" that began during lunch. He said several staff members were taken hostage but that the Cubans, FBI agents and prison officials were "talking face to face."

Mr. Calibiano said more than 15 Cubans had returned to their cells.

The authorities said the uprising, like the one in Louisiana, was sparked by the U.S.-Cuban agreement last week to return to Cuba some 2,500 "undesirables" who came to the United States in the 1980 boatlift from Mariel, Cuba. The agreement also allows 20,000 Cubans per year into the United States.

In Oakdale, Louisiana, negotiations were under way Monday as the National Guard, using armored personnel carriers, joined hundreds of law officers circling the 47-acre (19-hectare) medium-security Federal Alien Detention Center. The Cubans have held about 25 persons hostage there since Saturday night.

The Oakdale warden, J.R. Johnson, said the prisoners released

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The Oak

U.S. Battleship Heads for Gulf

New Technology Includes an 'Eye-in-the-Sky' Drone Unit

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

ABOARD THE USS IOWA — On this gray battleship steaming toward the Gulf, officers and sailors are confident that new weapons and training will enable them to operate more effectively against Iran than similar U.S. forces did against artillery and guerrillas based in Lebanon in 1984.

One notable example of the Iowa's new technology is its so-called "eye-in-the-sky," an experimental squadron of small, piloted reconnaissance aircraft used for artillery spotting.

In 1984, the New Jersey, also a battleship, lacked this asset when it shelled firebases in the Lebanese mountains. "They were just firing at map coordinates," an Iowa gunnery officer said.

This past weekend, Iowa crewmen discussed their primary Gulf mission: preventing Iran from using Silkworm missiles and, if ordered, destroying the missile bases.

"With our firepower, our job is to take out missile platforms, and we'll get them if we're told to," said a petty officer, who was more explicit than his superiors about the exact role that the Iowa is intended to play in the Gulf.

Iran Naval Guns Cause Fires On 2 Freighters at Gulf Entry

The Associated Press

MANAMA, Bahrain — The Iranian Navy fired Monday on two freighters in the Strait of Hormuz. The vessels, en route to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, were set ablaze and three crewmen were injured, salvage executives reported.

The 16,859-ton container vessel Uni-Master, which flies the Panamanian flag, was on its way to Saudi Arabia. The 8,850-ton Fundulus, a freighter operating under

U.S. tactics will be altered, according to crew members. Several said that the Iowa would rely heavily on cruise missiles.

The Iowa — one of four battleships of World War II vintage taken out of mothballs and modernized on orders of the Reagan administration — is leading a battle group that will relieve U.S. warships on station in the Gulf since summer.

This is the first rotation of major U.S. warships in the Gulf and the Iowa's first mission there. Iowa crew-members expect their tour to last at least six months.

In another indication that policing the Gulf may be a drawn-out and thus expensive mission, officers on the Iowa have orders to welcome press visitors, or as part of a Pentagon effort to be build public support.

An American reporter, together with a group of French members of parliament, military officers and journalists, sailed on the Iowa this weekend for several hours as the ship left Marseille and headed for the Suez Canal.

"This ship is no museum piece, it's a formidable strike weapon," said the commander, Captain Larry Sequist. Discussing the con-

troversial program of recommissioning and modernizing the battleships, he argued that the \$400-million refit of the Iowa "bought firepower cheaply for us."

The core of the Iowa's firepower is made up of nine Mark 7 guns, the largest on any modern warship. These guns fire a shell 16 inches (400 millimeters) in diameter, loaded with 2,700 pounds of high explosive and capable of blasting a crater as big as a football field and 40 feet deep in soil.

Some rounds are designed to break up above a target, scattering thousands of grenade-like bomblets over a wide area. "We can take care of a range of contingencies — massed Iranian suicide boats, or tanks, or helos," Captain Sequist said.

Against a target such as the Iranian bases of Silkworm missiles, the Iowa probably would use the Tomahawk cruise missiles that have been installed on deck, a technician said. These missiles guide themselves to the target using photos taken by aerial reconnaissance.

Against Silkworm missiles in flight, the guided-missile cruiser USS *Ticonderoga* will go into action. It is part of the Iowa's battle group.

Veterans on the Iowa — some dating from Vietnam War, some from the Mediterranean operations in 1984 and a petty officer who served in the Korean War — sounded confident about their equipment and the ability of the crew of 1,200 enlisted men, whose average age is 23.

The Iowa is the first U.S. Navy vessel to experiment with the drones, officially known as Pioneer RPVs (remotely piloted vehicles). Developed by the Israelis, who have used them effectively against Syrian positions in Lebanon, the drones can hover over a target 20 miles away and transmit pictures of it, even at night. With a wingspan of only 16 feet, they are difficult to shoot down.

The Iowa will use them to locate Iranian warships and Silkworm missiles. Most of Iran's Silkworms are said to be located in hills commanding the Strait of Hormuz, near Clark Air Base, north of Manila.

Mr. Ocampo said the Clark killings were part of an "important policy" adopted in June by the guerrilla leadership after "increasingly blatant intervention" by the U.S. government in anti-guerrilla operations.

He said the rebels had been hampered by increased serial bombing and the formation of anti-Communist vigilante groups in the countryside backed by President Corazon C. Aquino's government.

But he warned that "this is a concept that can only spell more



U.S. Navy photo/Associated Press

Philippine Rebels Say They Killed Americans and Warn of New Attacks

Agence France-Presse

MANILA — The Communist rebel leadership in the Philippines has taken responsibility for the murder last month of three Americans near a U.S. air base and warned of further attacks on U.S. targets.

Saturino Ocampo, chief spokesman of the National Democratic Front, made the statement in an interview with the BBC, which gave a transcript to news agencies in Manila on Monday.

"Henceforth" he said, "all U.S. military and civilian officials and personnel involved in the implementation of the total war program are to be targets for attack" by the New People's Army.

"The attacks on the three Americans were a response to this policy," he said.

The United States recently speeded arms deliveries to Manila as part of its \$180 million annual rent for two huge bases near Manila. Apart from Clark, the United States also maintains Subic Bay, a major ship repair and maintenance installation.

Sources close to the New People's Army said last week that the local guerrilla unit near Clark had committed "an error" by hitting ordinary U.S. servicemen at random, instead of ranking officers involved in aiding Manila.

They said this was the reason the New People's Army did not immediately take responsibility for the killings.

Mr. Ocampo, a former journalist, was named in a military document that was declassified over the weekend as one of the 25 members of the central committee of the banned Communist Party of the Philippines, which controls the National Democratic Front.

The BBC correspondent who supplied the Ocampo remarks said the interview was not held in person for security reasons. Questions were sent in writing, and Mr. Ocampo supplied a typed answer to each question.

Mr. Ocampo said that it was not National Democratic Front policy "to attack foreign citizens per se" and that Americans need not fear attack "as long as they are not involved in the interventionist policy of the Reagan administration."

Mr. Ocampo said the National

Democratic Front, whose international office is in Utrecht in the Netherlands, had support groups in 25 countries, mostly in Western Europe, and had links with "liberation movements" across the Third World.

He said the front "maintains relations" with the Pacifist Socialist Party in the Netherlands and the ruling Pan Hellenic Socialist Party in Greece.

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But he warned that "this is a concept that can only spell more

WORLD BRIEFS

Sydney Communications Still Chaotic

SYDNEY (UPI) — Central Sydney's communications network remained in chaos Monday as technicians worked to restore more than 35,000 lines cut when a saboteur hacked through vital underground cables.

A Telecom Australia spokesman said Monday that the company believed the saboteur possibly a disgruntled former employee who worked alone, cut through 24 main cables in 10 locations under the city's business district Friday night. The cables carried lines for computers, telephones, telexes, facsimiles, automatic bank teller machines, department store cash registers and off-track betting wires. The spokesman said that "communications are still chaotic."

A list of suspects, mainly covering those dismissed from Telecom over the past decade, has been pieced together and narrowed down by investigators, the spokesman said. The company is offering a reward of \$50,000 Australian dollars (\$34,400) for information leading to the conviction of those responsible.

No China Trip Planned, Vatican Says

VATICAN CITY (Reuters) — The Vatican said Monday that Pope John Paul II was not planning a visit to China after reports that he would make such a trip to heal the rift between the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Church in China.

A Vatican spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls, said no trip was planned in 1989 and added that "with the information we have at present, there is not even the chance of such a trip."

The Reverend Louis Ha, director of the Catholic Social Communications agency, which handles church publications in Hong Kong, said earlier that a third country was negotiating with China for a papal visit. Mr. Navarro-Valls said the idea of negotiations by a third country "should be ruled out." The Holy See has never recognized the Chinese Communist government, and its links with the Catholic Church in China were broken by China in 1957.

Swiss Soft Cheese Blamed for Deaths

LAUSANNE, Switzerland (Reuters) — A Swiss soft cheese contaminated with the bacteria listeria may have killed 31 people in western Switzerland since 1983, health officials said Monday.

Officials from the canton of Vaud said that the deaths from listeriosis appeared to have followed consumption of the cheese Vacherin Mont d'Or. The cantons of Vaud and Zurich banned sale of the cheese Friday after a sharp rise in illness and deaths due to listeriosis. The federal government ordered nationwide checks on soft cheeses.

Miscarriages of unborn children accounted for about half of the deaths. Pregnant women, the elderly and people with weak immune systems are particularly vulnerable to listeriosis, which is thought to be caused by bacteria in cheese rind.

Prague Police Break Up a Meeting

VIENNA (Reuters) — Czechoslovak police broke up a meeting of Charter 77 human rights organization in a Prague apartment on Sunday after smashing down the door, émigrés said on Monday.

More than a dozen people were detained by policemen after they raided the house of Libuse Silhanova, a group spokesman said. Among those taken were a former foreign minister, Jiri Hajek, as well as Jiri Dienstbier, Rudolf Barak, Jaroslav Sabata and Vaclav Benda, that émigrés said. All were released later in the day after being questioned by police.

Charter 77 and other human rights activists in Czechoslovakia are known to hold regular private meetings, with policemen keeping watch but normally not intervening. The police told the gathering Sunday that they were looking for a criminal suspect, the émigrés said.

The game is scheduled to resume Tuesday afternoon.

Karpov Leads in World Chess Match

SEVILLE, Spain (Reuters) — The 16th game of the world chess championship between titleholder Gary Kasparov and challenger Anatoly Karpov was adjourned on Monday after 40 moves.

Mr. Karpov's position, experts said, is virtually a winning one.

Mr. Kasparov currently leads the match by 8-7, with three wins, two losses and ten draws.

The game is scheduled to resume Tuesday afternoon.

For the Record

London police said they have established the cause of the fire in the King's Cross Underground station in which 30 people died last Wednesday. They are expected to announce their findings on Tuesday. (Reuters)

Seventy scientists from 12 European countries Monday appealed to the Soviet Union to let 239 Jewish scientists leave the country. The European scientists, meeting in Brussels, also asked the Soviet Union to give up arbitrary decisions and set up rules on the emigration of scientists. (AP)

The World Health Organization has given Zambia \$6 million to fight AIDS. The money would be spent over five years to educate the country's 7 million people about the dangers of the disease. (AP)

Indian police shot and killed two suspected Sikh militants in separate incidents in the Punjab on Sunday. The deaths were the first since seven persons were killed last Tuesday. (AFP)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Portugal, China Plan Macao Airport

MACAO (Reuters) — China and Portugal will discuss plans for an international airport in the Portuguese territory of Macao at a meeting in Beijing in December, Governor Carlos Melancia of Macao said Monday.

He said the airport would cost \$450 million and be ready by 1992. Macao will return to Chinese rule in 1999. Visitors to the territory now arrive by sea, mainly from Hong Kong, or by land from China.

Strike Worsens at Rome Airport

ROME (AP) — Sixty more flights were canceled at Rome's Leonardo da Vinci airport Monday as Italy braced for a week of work stoppages, including a general strike on Wednesday.

Alitalia and ATI airlines announced they were canceling 60 flights into and out of Rome on Monday and Tuesday as a result of strikes by 12,000 ground workers and air traffic controllers. Sixty flights were canceled Sunday.

Negotiations on the unions' demands for higher wages were to resume Tuesday. Railroad, factory, bus and subway workers, bank employees and truckers have all vowed to join a four-hour general strike, from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M., on Wednesday.

Duarte Tells Returning Rebel Chiefs To Break Links With Military Wing

By James LeMoine
New York Times Service

SAN SALVADOR — President Jose Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador has strongly criticized returning rebel civilian leaders and demanded that they break their links with the military wing of the guerrilla front.

"They have to define themselves," Mr. Duarte said Sunday. "Either they are for the democratic process or for violence and guerrilla war."

He made his statement in the midst of rapid political developments in El Salvador, spurred by the arrival on Saturday of Rubén Zamora, a leading rebel civilian official who came home after seven years in exile.

Another senior rebel civilian of-

ficial, Guillermo Ungo, was expected to arrive on Monday.

The two lead the civilian wing of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, a guerrilla movement that is loosely allied to the far stronger rebel military Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. They are returning to test the terms of a new regional peace treaty calling for efforts at national reconciliation.

In a step that appeared timed to steal the political limelight from the returning rebels, Mr. Duarte announced that the government had begun to prosecute a case that has been treated as a major test of its ability to act against persistent human rights violations. This is the killing in 1980 of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

Marisa de León, the spokeswoman, in a telephone interview from San José, Costa Rica, named the two as Alfonso Robelo and Azucena Ferrey, two of the six contra civilian leaders.

Meanwhile, in Washington, the State Department on Monday welcomed Nicaragua's decision to release 985 political prisoners but said the Sandinista government still held about 8,500 more. A spokeswoman said that the Sandinista government was still a long way from compliance with the Central American peace agreement.

The Honeycomb's Symmetry Reflects Hyundai's Business Philosophy

At Hyundai we're involved in a whole nest of activities. Varied activities that keep us busy from construction and engineering to shipbuilding, industrial plants, machinery, automobiles and trade. And recently Hyundai has expanded into the hi-tech electronics field of tomorrow.

How have we been able to successfully expand into all these areas? Well, our consistent business philosophy has been strictly conformed to, in all our pursuits. Simply, all Hyundai companies insist on hiring the best people, doing the job better and faster than the competition, and aiming at complete customer satisfaction. Our customers appreciate it and we demand it.

In addition, Hyundai's different business lines conform to each other and at the same time offset each other to produce a harmonious balance. That's important to you, because we can supply services and products faster and more economically, since we are able to tap into our worldwide "network-comb" of companies.

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In Paris and Provinces, France's Mayors Reign Like Omnipotent Dukes

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

LA ROCHELLE, France — More than three centuries ago, La Rochelle's turreted city hall was a genuine fortress besieged by an army led by Cardinal Richelieu, the stern incarnation of the centralizing French state.

Mayor Michel Crépeau today likes to show visitors the crease in a marble table top where in 1628 Admiral Jean Guiton, accepting the post of mayor, slammed his sword and demanded that no one surrender.

After a siege that killed 23,000 of its 28,000 inhabitants, Protestant La Rochelle capitulated. Yet the plucky Admiral Guiton has become a useful role model as Mr. Crépeau, like his colleagues in France's 36,449 other communes, tests the limits of recent measures to decentralize Western Europe's most centralized nation.

In big cities and obscure villages, France's mayors already enjoyed enormous powers before Socialist legislation four years ago enhanced them, correspondingly weakening the power of Paris-appointed administrators known as prefects. Now, French mayors have entered their golden age.

"In France," mused Mr. Crépeau, a diminutive politician who has reigned over this handsome Atlantic port city for 16 years, "the president of the republic is a bit the heir of the Roman emperors and the centralizing French monarchs, while the mayor — the mayor is the heir of the wild-haired tribal chieftains of the Gauls."

The mayor is the local president of the republic, the minister of finance and the head of the local administration. He is the protector, the head of the family, the sorcerer. People believe he can do anything.

The elections in France where people vote the most are for their mayors.

Rooted in their municipalities, many French mayors use them as trampolines to high national office and as safe havens when national political tides turn against them.

Mr. Crépeau, who stood for the small Left Radical Party in 1981, is a case in point.

He won only 2.2 percent of the popular vote, but opportunely threw his support to the Socialist candidate, François Mitterrand, in the second round of balloting. As a reward, Mr. Crépeau was given

three major cabinet posts in successive Socialist governments between 1981 and 1986 — environment, commerce and justice.

Yet, like other politicians in similar situations, Mr. Crépeau did not cease to be mayor during the five years he was a minister in Paris; every weekend he shuttled to his bastion in La Rochelle to keep an eye on the city's affairs and a finger on the popular pulse. When the right swept to power in national legislative elections in 1986, Mr. Crépeau emptied his office at the Justice Ministry and repaired to La Rochelle.

He did not abandon Paris altogether. Mr. Crépeau is also a member of the National Assembly, a job that, he says, brings him much less fun and influence than being mayor of La Rochelle but one that strengthens his hand in representing his city in Paris.

The importance of being a mayor in France is underlined by a simple statistic: in the 491-member National Assembly, 258 deputies are simultaneously mayors or, as they have come to be known, "deputy-mayors." Nationally, they are much better known as mayors than as deputies.

Jacques Chirac, now speaker of the National Assembly, has been mayor of Bordeaux since 1947; duties at city hall have not prevented him from also being prime minister and defense minister in the course of a long career.

M. Mitterrand held the somewhat less demanding job of mayor of the Burgundy town of Chateauneuf-Chalon, population 2,600, for 22 years before being elected president in 1981.

"It's fascinating, because you're running a business," said François Fillon, a 33-year-old Gaullist deputy who became the mayor of Sablons-Sarthe, southwest of Paris four years ago. "I have 150 people working for me. The deputy is very dis-

tinguished.

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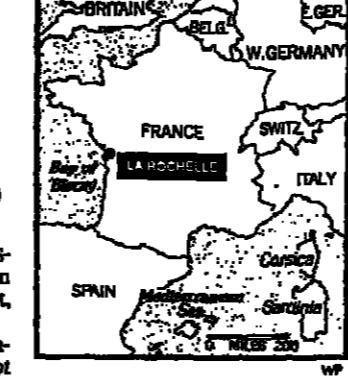
UNESCO Board Elects Brazilian

The Associated Press

PARIS — A Brazilian nuclear physicist, José Israel Vargas, was elected Monday to a two-year term as head of the 50-nation executive board of UNESCO.

Mr. Vargas, 59, received 38 votes to 10 for Walter Gehring of West Germany and one for the former Australian prime minister, Gough Whitlam. Mr. Vargas succeeds Ivo Margan of Yugoslavia.

He said he would work to reform the agency, compress its programs, seek economies, try to bring back countries that had left the agency and encourage new nations to join.



tant, but the mayor is a man of the land — the mayor is real."

Jacques Chirac has discovered the reality of power in a decade as mayor of Paris — a position that permitted him to keep himself in the headlines even after the Socialists won presidential and parliamentary elections in 1981. Since becoming prime minister last year, Mr. Chirac has remained mayor of the premier city of France, commanding a corps of 40,000 civil servants.

As Mr. Crépeau discovered, though, too many outside jobs can lead to a neglect of the work at city hall. During his tenure in Paris, unemployment climbed alarmingly in La Rochelle, a city of 78,000, largely because of the closing of its shipyard. Many say Mr. Crépeau has turned with redoubled zeal to the city's problems, encouraging the development of a marine research institute and lobbying for the extension of a fast-train line to La Rochelle.

But some say Mr. Crépeau still hankers after another ministerial post in Paris should the Socialists take over again. They recall that even the delinquent Admiral Guiton survived the siege of La Rochelle and went on to serve the French monarchy as a captain of the fleet; when he died, a painting of Louis XIII was found on his bedroom wall.

U.S. and Laotians Agree to Step Up Search for MIAs

New York Times Service

VIENTIANE, Laos — The United States and Laos have announced that Washington will begin considering the "humanitarian problems" of this isolated country as Laotians step up the search for the 555 Americans missing there since the Vietnam War.

The agreement, which follows several official meetings, is similar to one concluded this summer between the United States and Vietnam. U.S. experts on the missing have already visited Hanoi for consultation.

At the same time, the United States is about to deliver a shipment of rice to Laos, where this year's crop, now being harvested, has been severely affected by drought.

Living Abroad

A New Health Plan for Expatriates

By Sherry Buchanan
International Herald Tribune

Medicare, the U.S. government medical insurance for retired people, does not cover Americans living abroad. And depending on their age, it is sometimes difficult to get private international health insurance.

To help Americans who do not have health insurance through an employer, as well as people who retired abroad, the Association of Americans Resident Overseas, a Paris-based organization, has introduced a group medical insurance plan open to members and their dependents living in Europe.

The plan covers hospitalization and outpatient costs, as well as costs for returning home for emergency health care if the subscriber is traveling. It has no age limit for joining and guarantees that subscribers will be covered for the rest of their lives.

"The main problem was that most existing plans drop people over a certain age automatically," said Leo Packer, a retired American scientist living in Paris.

Three years ago, Mr. Packer was asked by the Association of Americans Resident Overseas to chair a Medical Insurance Committee to respond to the requests and suggestions of members who had found it difficult or impossible to get adequate medical insurance in Europe.

"Some plans don't let you join as an individual if you are over 50, others if you are over 60," he said. "Most drop you when you are 65 or reserve the right to increase premiums arbitrarily after you reach a certain age."

For example, a retired U.S. military officer, who lives in the south of France and who is covered by DKY, a German company that specializes in medical insurance, saw his premiums increase by 50 percent in the last year. He is now paying 14,000 francs (\$2,460) a year for health insurance.

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Just when subscribers need health insurance most, it gets more expensive and more uncertain, especially if the individual isn't protected by a group plan.

"As an individual you have no leverage," said Mr. Packer. "The insurance companies can charge what they like or can send you a

letter saying now that you are old and sick we don't want you anymore. That's why it is much more advantageous to have a group plan."

There are other health insurance plans for expatriates but they have age limits for joining. They include the Exeter Hospital Aid Society, in Exeter, England; international health coverage from American International Group of New York; and the American Express International Health Plan, available to American Express cardholders who pay in dollars or pounds through the office in Essex, England.

Many international plans limit or exclude coverage in the United States and Canada because medical costs there are much higher than in other countries. Yet, many Americans say they would like to have the option of going home if they ever became seriously ill.

American Express's international plan increases with age and varies according to the person's country of residence. The cost for an American living in France who is over 65, for example, is 6,930 francs. For Americans living in Italy, West Germany, Switzerland or Great Britain who are over 65, the cost is 8,612 francs.

Besides hospitalization and outpatient medical treatment, the plan covers 50 percent of prescription drug costs, up to 60,000 francs a year for psychiatric treatment and offers pregnancy and maternity coverage.

Information about the plan can be obtained by writing CO-FAST, 23 rue Ballu, 75009 Paris.

After 2 Days, India Ends Cease-Fire in Sri Lanka

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

NEW DELHI — India ended its cease-fire in Sri Lanka on Monday, two days after it began, charging that Tamil guerrilla separatists had failed to "respond positively" to the gesture.

In announcing the end of the cease-fire, an Indian spokesman said the main guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, "is now insisting on a number of unacceptable preconditions" before considering India's demand that it surrender its arms as part of any political settlement.

In addition, the spokesman said

the Liberation Tigers had themselves continued acts of violence, including the murder of two Tamil officials on Monday, in an effort to intimidate the Tamil population in northern Sri Lanka from cooperating with Indian peacekeeping forces on the island.

About 20,000 Indian troops are in Sri Lanka to enforce a peace accord in the four-year-long civil war negotiated with Colombo last July. Under its terms, Colombo agreed to limited autonomy in Tamil areas of the North and East if the guerrillas dropped their demand for an independent nation and surrendered their weapons to India.

The guerrillas at first went along with the accord but changed their minds in October. Government officials said Monday that in the last seven weeks of India's drive to disarm the guerrillas, 262 Indian soldiers and officers had been killed and 927 had been wounded. There are no reliable figures of casualties of the Tigers.

Indian officials said the cease-fire was approved by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on Friday as a gesture to test the sincerity of recent indications from some Tamil leaders that the Tigers were willing to surrender their weapons and observe the terms of the peace accord.

Mr. Gandhi had been under political pressure to make the offer from Tamil leaders in southern India friendly with the Tigers.

The Indian official said the Tigers responded by saying that Indian forces must first retreat to positions they held five weeks ago, in effect withdrawing from areas that they secured at great cost.

An Indian spokesman said that he could not be certain whether India would engage in more fighting with the Liberation Tigers but that the operation would continue to locate and seize ammunition factories and depots.

Reports of a mutiny by Indian soldiers were first made by leaders of the South-West African People's Organization, which has been fighting for 21 years to end South African rule in South-West Africa.

The Defense Force also acknowledged Sunday that 27 members of another all-black battalion sent into Angola had protested about "the way in which they were being utilized" but said the problem had been ironed out.

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Two weeklies, The Namibian in Windhoek and The Weekly Mail in Johannesburg, had reported that more than 400 members of 101 Battalion had "gone on strike."

South Africa Cites Unrest in Black Troops

By John D. Battersby
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Defense Force is acknowledging that 47 members of a black battalion with previous service in Angola were discharged in March but denied that there has been a mutiny.

The acknowledgment on Sunday followed newspaper reports that more than 400 black soldiers in the unit had mutinied, refusing to fight on the side of the rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA, which trying to overthrow the Soviet-backed Angolan regime.

Commandant G.R.C. Bester, spokesman for the South-West African Territorial Force, said the 47 black soldiers had failed to meet military standards over a long period and that their discharge was not connected to South African operations in southern Angola.

The South-West African Territorial Force is a semi-autonomous section of the South African Defense Force made up largely of troops from the South-African controlled territory, also known as Namibia.

South Africa acknowledged for the first time Nov. 9 that its troops had assisted UNITA forces in a recent attack by Angolan troops assisted by Cuban troops and Soviet advisers.

The Defense Force also acknowledged Sunday that 27 members of another all-black battalion sent into Angola had protested about "the way in which they were being utilized" but said the problem had been ironed out.

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Patriates

and plan, for instance, coverage to \$7,500 a year for Americans temporarily based in the United States on business today. The policy, which covers 15 a year, only covers subscribers for three months in the country.

Life of America Insurance offers a policy that covers anyone anywhere in the world up to \$100 a day. However, "that's nothing if you are getting treatment in a hospital in the United States," said Andrew Johnson, an executive with Life of America.

She estimates that the average cost for room, board and treatment in an American hospital is \$1,000 a day.

The policy costs \$400 for men under 34 and \$300 for women between 30 and 65 and \$102 for men in that age group.

It drops people after that.

The new plan from the Association of Americans Overseas has no annual coverage in the United States or anywhere else in the world.

No time limit on coverage does require that subscribers

be residents of Europe to qualify for coverage.

The cost of the association plan increases with age and is according to the person's country of residence. The cost for an American living in France who is over 65, for example, is \$90 francs. For Americans living in Italy, West Germany, Switzerland or Great Britain who are over 65, the cost is \$10 francs.

Besides hospitalization and outpatient medical treatment, the plan covers 50 percent of prescription drug costs up to 40,000 francs a year for psychiatric treatments and offers pregnancy and maternity coverage.

Information about the plan can be obtained by writing to FAST, 23 rue Ballin, 75009 Paris.

South Africa Cites Unrest Black Troop

By John D. Barnes
Special to The Sun
JOHANNESBURG — South African Defense Forces acknowledged that 47 members of a Black battalion with previous service in Angola were discharged last month but denied that there had been a mutiny.

The admission followed a newspaper report that more than 400 black soldiers mutinied, refusing to fight outside of the tribal areas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA, who were trying to overthrow the pro-Bakweli Angolan regime.

Commandant G.R.C. Ross, spokesman for the South-West African Territorial Force and the 47th Black soldiers, had the shortest military standards discharge period and that their discharge was not connected to South African operations in southern Angola.

The South-West African Territorial Force is a semi-autonomous section of the South African Defense Force made up largely of troops from the South-African controlled territory, also known as Namibia.

South Africa acknowledged the first time Nov. 9 that its forces had assisted UNITA forces in putting an attack in Angolan territory, assisted by Cuban and Soviet advisers.

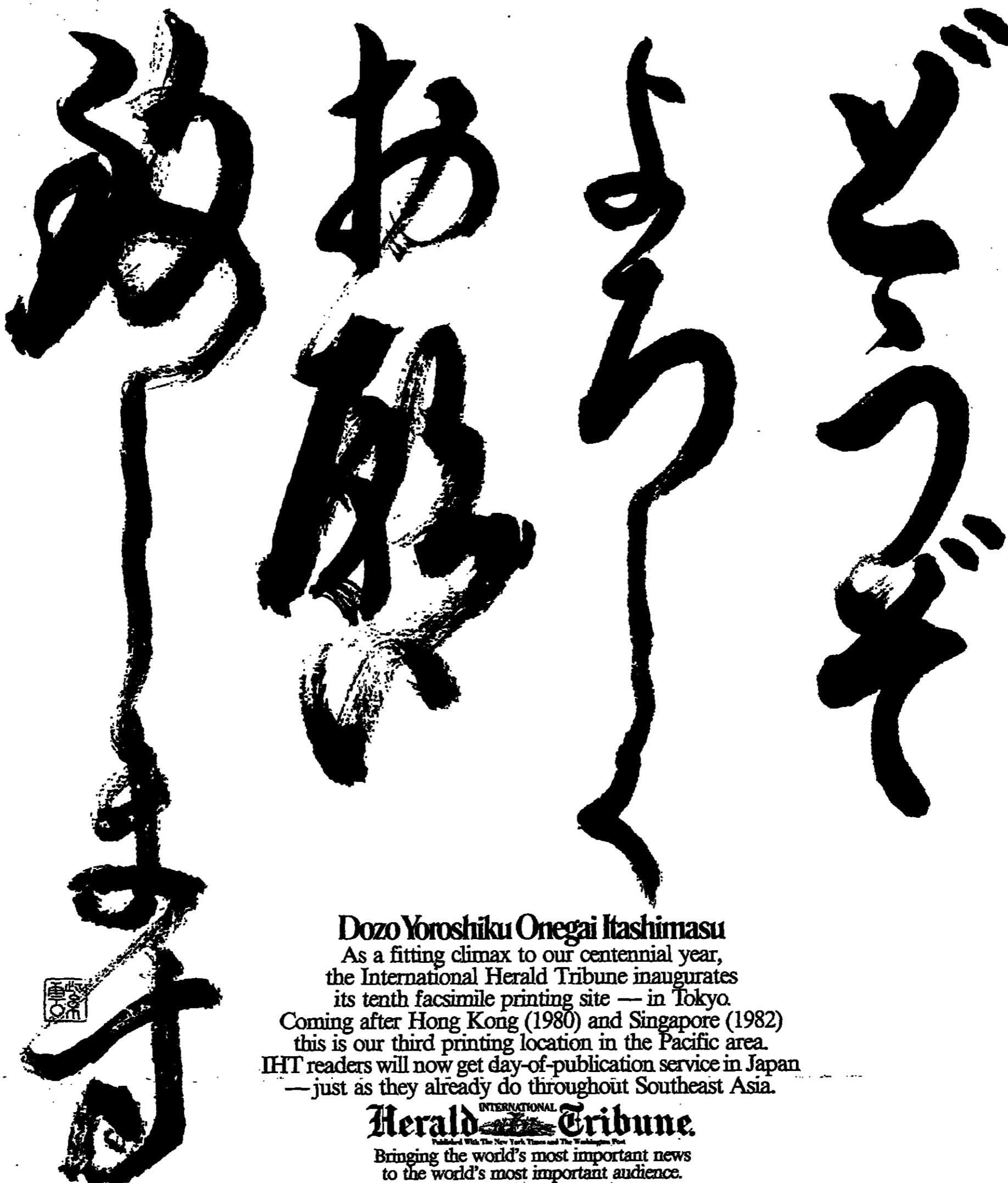
The Defense Force also acknowledged Sunday that 27 members of another Black battalion sent into Angola had previously been in which they were about to be killed but had been spared.

Reports of a mutiny by the soldiers were first made by members of the South-West African People's Organization, which has been fighting for 21 years to end South African rule in South-West Africa.

Two weeks ago, The Sunday Times and The Weekly Mail, Johannesburg, had reported a mutiny by more than 200 members of the 47th Black soldiers that went on strike.

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Help Eastern Europe

For decades, East Europeans who wanted reforms found the Soviet Union standing in the way. Now Moscow takes the lead and beckons, while Eastern Europe's leaders balk. Their economies are in crisis, their people dispirited. Most leaders are old or failing, and to them the future looks uncertain and reform risky. The West typically needs Eastern Europe only in crisis. This is a good time to break that pattern with a thoughtful, unified approach to nudge inevitable changes in desired directions.

Mikhail Gorbachev is trying to shape those changes along the lines of his own policies in the Soviet Union. He prods his Eastern European cohorts toward economic reforms and reassures them of continued support. Moscow needs to revitalized these neighboring economies to help its own especially as markets for Soviet goods.

But economic cures require political change—which is risky in the Soviet Union and riskier still for governments lacking nationalist legitimacy. Orthodox East European parties have responded to Mr. Gorbachev's call for reform with caution and "a nationalist approach to socialism." This translates differently in each country.

Poland, led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is relatively young at 64, was forced toward reform early. It has a strong church, dissident and labor groups and an underground press. Its economic difficulties are worse than Moscow's. Reform proposals require drastic price increases. To win support, General Jaruzelski proposes a referendum on Nov. 29. Opponents call for a boycott, saying that the reforms stop short of democratization.

Hungary, once socialism's success story, has the bloc's highest per capita foreign debt. Janos Kadar, 75, who led his country away from centralized planning, seems unable to effect further reforms. With living standards down and social tensions up, the Communist Party is in disarray.

Bulgaria has launched a reform program of its own, but that is more tinkering than real change in central management.

Czechoslovakia adamantly resisted reforms, for good reason. Gustav Husak, 74, came to power in the wake of the Soviet invasion that crushed the Czechoslovak reforms of 1968. But a sagging economy has forced him finally to propose broad changes, with details to come soon.

East Germany has been the most prosperous of the Soviet satellites. Its leader, Erich Honecker, 75, notes this when he rejects Moscow's model. His idea of reform is to tighten central planning. He has done so with relative success, with help from West Germany's favorable trade practices. Now there is pressure to improve technology so as to maintain exports to the West and satisfy Soviet needs.

Romania is virulently anti-reformist. Nicolae Ceausescu, 69 and ailing, answers economic distress with more repression and austerity. Romanians recently took to the streets in violent protest. They inquire plaintively about Soviet reforms. But when Mr. Gorbachev came to explain them, Mr. Ceausescu could only stare at his watch.

The power structure in most of these countries cannot last much longer. Its stability, resting heavily on economic health, is threatened. Moscow, needing the more advanced technological and industrial capabilities of its allies, pushes gently and promises more political breathing room.

This is space the West can use. A coordinated Western approach can increase broadcasting, cultural exchanges, travel and business contacts. It can also require of Eastern Europe more rational economic policies in return for reduced trade quotas and stepped-up credits and investments. Such an approach could stimulate economic progress, as well as political and social reform.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

America's Wealth Gap

Incomes have become more unequal in the United States in the past decade. The poor have become poorer since the middle 1970s, and the rich richer. That trend has been apparent for some time. Now the Congressional Budget Office has published a study showing that the federal tax system has simultaneously become less progressive. Tax rates have risen for the poor and middle classes, while declining sharply for the top tenth of the population.

Congress tried to change the balance for the better in the income tax reform bill last year, and the income tax is fairer now than it was. But those improvements have been swamped by the increasing Social Security tax and the other payroll taxes that pay for social insurance. While legally an employee pays only half of the Social Security tax and the employer pays the rest, the economic reality—as the CBO observes—is that, directly or indirectly, the employee bears all of it. Counted that way, four-fifths of all Americans—all but the wealthiest—are now paying more in social insurance taxes than in individual income taxes. The income tax rates have had more attention in recent years than they deserved. The growing importance of the mercifully regressive payroll taxes has been largely neglected.

The virtue of the CBO study is that it pulls together all the federal taxes, including

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Opposed Slants on Nicaragua

Americans are still furiously debating the nature of the Sandinist regime and its intent in regard to the Arias peace plan, but surely that question has been settled conclusively by the photo that appeared after the opening of the party congress in Moscow. In them, Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua can be seen sitting next to Erich Honecker of East Germany and Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland, in the section reserved for the leaders of Leninist governments in good standing.

Soviet rituals continue to serve as very precise political indicators. Just as we would know at once that Mikhail Gorbachev had been demoted if another Politburo member had been the first to speak in the recent Central Committee meeting, equally the seating of Mr. Ortega conveys a very definite message: The Sandinist regime has been admitted to the very exclusive club of governments that the Soviet Union regards as permanent, organic allies.

A most basic Soviet doctrine is that once a fully fledged Leninist regime is established, there can be no backsliding, no revision to democratic governance.

The irreversibility doctrine imposes demanding admission criteria. It requires the difficult assessment that a faraway exotic regime means to remain faithful to Moscow in all things, including military cooperation. Second, it demands an even sterner judgment that the regime has the determination and ability to remain in power. Third, it exposes the Soviet Union to risky out-of-area confrontations to protect the regime. Finally, it means that the Soviet Union will face demands for military and economic aid.

While Americans continue to argue over the sincerity of the Sandinist acceptance of the Arias peace plan, it seems that in Moscow the question is regarded as settled. Leninist governments can make all sorts of

tactical accommodations, but they must retain an unchallenged monopoly of power; if there were any suspicion that the Sandinists might actually allow the democratization required by the Arias peace plan, Mr. Ortega would not have been seated where he was.

—Edward N. Luttwak, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, writing in *The Washington Post*.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in their useful statement on U.S. policy in Central America, had two lessons to teach the White House.

They are right when they argue that there can be no military solution and that U.S. support of the contras fighting the government of Nicaragua is "morally flawed."

Even more important, the bishops said what they said only after consulting the bishops of Central America, including Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Managua, and Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas of San Salvador. This was not like so many initiatives of the Reagan administration, an arrogant assertion of Yankee authority over the Central Americans, but rather, a respectful response to the needs as seen by the Central Americans themselves.

Washington's preoccupation with Nicaragua, the bishops found, has two faults, converting Central Americans into "pawns in a superpower struggle" and failing to respond adequately to the human rights violations, corruption, unemployment and other miseries that have brought the region "to the very brink of devastation."

The bishops gave unequivocal support to the Aug. 7 Central American peace agreement. "Let us turn our energies and resources in the region from supplying weapons of war to building instruments of peace," the bishops said.

—The Los Angeles Times.

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OPINION

East Europeans Are Watching Gorbachev

By Jeri Laber

NEW YORK — Mikhail Gorbachev sent a strong signal to Eastern Europe when he said that "unity does not mean identity and uniformity." This more flexible approach also tacitly acknowledged the very real differences that already exist within the bloc.

During a visit I made recently to Czechoslovakia and Poland, I asked opposition leaders about the effects of glasnost. Czechoslovakia said bitterly that the new Soviet policies seemed to have passed them by. Poles were so involved in discussing the reforms now being introduced in their country that they barely mentioned Mr. Gorbachev.

Both countries have long-established opposition movements—Charte 77 in Czechoslovakia and Solidarity in Poland. But there the resemblance ends. Since 1968, when Soviet-led Warsaw Pact troops crushed a reform movement in Czechoslovakia known as the Prague spring, the Czechoslovak government has exercised tight control over its population, arresting, isolating and ostracizing dissenters.

Poland, despite government efforts to suppress the Solidarity movement, remains the freest country in the Eastern bloc, with an active and independent Roman Catholic Church and a population known for its irreverent, irrepressible spirit.

The contrast between the two countries is especially vivid now. The Polish government has embarked on a series of economic reforms, promising the partial introduction of market economics, private and cooperative ownership and worker self-management. It is also promising "democratization," allowing an unusual degree of free discussion in the official press and liberalizing passport policies. "We're 10 years ahead of the Russians," a Solidarity leader told me. "The reforms are because of Solidarity, not Gorbachev." Some even suggested that "Gorbachev is because of Solidarity."

Support for the referendum remains strong in Poland, with 70 percent of the population in favor of a vote. The referendum is set for Oct. 21. The government has organized a massive campaign to encourage voting, but the opposition has responded with a massive counter-campaign.

Support for the referendum could have been interpreted as surrender to a government which has outlawed Solidarity. On the other hand, the boycott exposes Solidarity leaders to the risk of not being part of a process that might lead the country to stability.

Referendums are unusual in Communist countries.

Did Mr. Walesa see a "Gorbachev effect"? "Certainly," he said, "but the economic factor remains the most important. We live in a system which is outdated, ineffective and unproductive. We have to reform it without violence. Then maybe we will no longer be

seen as an uncertain future for Solidarity, which has lost momentum, especially since Poland's political prisoners—whose fate had united the opposition—were freed in September 1986 in a general amnesty.

The government has further cut the ground from under Solidarity by adopting or promising to adopt many of the economic and social policies advocated by the Solidarity leadership. Solidarity leaders are now seeking new ways to remain a meaningful force within the society without letting themselves be compromised by the government. Confused and wary, they are also flushed with the excitement of the moment.

In Prague, however, nothing has changed. Charta 77 leaders describe their high hopes before Mr. Gorbachev's visit to Czechoslovakia, and their disappointment when the visit did not result in any changes in leadership or policies. The Husak government has made it explicit that

they see no hope that the Hussak government—anti-reformists put in

power by Soviet troops—will do anything that might undermine its position of security and privilege.

Yet if Mr. Gorbachev's policies

prevail in the Soviet Union, change will come to Eastern Europe. Even

one of the most cynical Charter 77 activists admitted the possibility: "If Gorbachev succeeds in the Soviet Union, it's the only hope for us."

It is reasonable to assume that in the most repressive East European countries—Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia—there are many like him who are closely watching the Soviet experiment, waiting for a time when, like their Polish neighbors, they can begin to think of taking their future into their own hands.

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The writer is executive director of Helsinki Watch, an organization that monitors compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. He contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.

The Harder Problem Is El Salvador

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — It is dawning on people that the tough case in Central America is El Salvador, not Nicaragua, and almost no one wants to take it on. It's too hard.

Nicaragua is tough because it has had a revolution. Paradoxically, that is its potential saving grace. The Nicaraguan people dispute the second, Sandinist revolution, but most of them accept the first, anti-Somocista one. Somewhere in between the first and second revolutions may lie terrain on which Nicaraguans can at least contend politically, even if they cannot reach harmony. This is the premise that current peace efforts are testing.

El Salvador is tough for precisely the opposite reason: It has not had a revolution. The power of the feudal-military oligarchy has been crippled but not broken by the democratic tendency represented by President José Napoleón Duarte. Against that power stands a leftist movement: with a not entirely mindless conviction that access to El Salvador's brand of democracy may lead to a dead end. The Reagan administration needed a model in Central America and was

There is a notion that it can perhaps be ignored.

easy drawn to the democratic dream and the heroism of the Duarte government. It was right to conduct that sort of policy, and Congress was right to support it. I do not see how Washington could have done otherwise.

But although U.S. policy has kept the Duarte government alive and seen success by some measures, overall it has been a failure. A cruel guerrilla challenge persists, the people suffer, the economy is wreck and democracy probably could not survive U.S. disengagement. For the first time in history of U.S. foreign aid to El Salvador this year (\$608 million) exceeds a country's own contribution to its budget (\$582 million).

Senator Mark Hatfield, a Republican, and Representatives Jim Leach, an Iowa Republican, and George Miller, a California Democrat, cite this somber fact in a report to the congressional Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus entitled "Bankrolling Failure: United States Policy for El Salvador and the Urgent Need for Reform." Blaming the doubly embattled Duarte government for most of El Salvador's woes and suggesting an aid squeeze in the name of reform, the report amounts to opening a second front against El Salvador's frail democracy. It cannot be taken seriously.

But the report is a telling reminder that most of us in Washington have availed our gaze from the contradictions of El Salvador, either because we feel that Nicaragua, with its more evident overlay of East-West conflict, was more urgent, or because we hoped too simply that Mr. Duarte's virtue would somehow reap its own reward.

Now the question arises whether the El Salvador struggle can be turned in the context of a regional peace agreement designed in the first instance to put out the fire in Nicaragua. Not only is a revolution unmade in El Salvador, however. In Nicaragua both sides are vulnerable to outside pressures. Precisely in the rigging of those pressures lies the possibilities of diplomacy. But in El Salvador, neither side is so vulnerable: The United States finds it hard to press (and to reform) an imperfect but struggling elected government, and the guerrillas are deeply rooted and sustain themselves internally to a considerable extent.

This is the bleakness supporting the notion that perhaps El Salvador can be bypassed, left to its own rages as some occupied islands were left behind in the U.S. Pacific campaign of World War II. A despairing idea but not necessarily an unthinkable one.

Better to use the current surge in regional diplomacy to reinforce lagging efforts to make both sides in El Salvador reduce the terrible civilian toll. If it is too much to expect a settlement, it should not be too much to aspire to civilize somewhat the conduct of an unavoidable class war.

The more distant but still necessary hope that the Arias plan means to keep alive looks to the reconciliation of a country where not just classes are at war but families and perhaps individual psyches too. This, I surmise, is the basis on which church figures and appeals of religious community become relevant to a quest for peace led in its official aspect by popular politicians. Is it merely a bitter irony that the country's name is to translate, "The Savio?"

The Washington Post.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1887: Lamb and Lion

TORONTO — Sir H.L. Langevin, Minister of Public Works, and the Hon. J.A. Chapleau, Dominion Secretary of State, were entertained at the Conservative Association at Montreal on Nov. 22. Mr. Chapleau strongly condemned commercial union with the United States, which he contended simply meant annexation. It would be the lamb that would swallow the lion. The whole scheme would never be endorsed by the people. The remarks were received with great applause.

Movies, plays and books, censored by the government for years, are now being released with almost no exception. Political prisoners—many of them personal friends of those around the table—are returning from jails, camps and mental institutions. One hears about new arrests on political grounds, but those arrested are rarely familiar to the capital's intellectual circles. They are either nationalists in distant ethnic republics or religious believers affiliated with officially disapproved cults.

"Glasnost" is for the bosses, growth a young cab driver, and his comment seemed to speak for the masses who see Mr. Gorbachev's reforms as an attack by the intelligentsia on ordinary working people.

The one serious difference between the Moscow I kept in my memory and the one I encountered in October was that people were prepared to offer opinions. On the surface the city's drab appearance had not changed much. There were more new office buildings and hotels for foreigners, built mostly before the 1980 Moscow Olympics. The crowd was dressed a little better. The traffic was somewhat heavier. Street artists were drawing portraits of passers-by without visible interference from the police. Despite the approaching 70th anniversary of

their ordeal is not completely over. Moreover, the Moscow community of nonconformists feels that the Kremlin is interested in an unprecedented dialogue. Some of its members, accustomed to the status of pariahs, have suddenly gained access to

OPINION

Stunning Change in China, But the Key Link Is Missing

By William Safire

BEIJING — Too many Westerners are accepting the idea that communism can achieve prosperity by employing a form of controlled capitalism. Buyers of this notion find few sellers, resulting in a wild run-up in the market of political optimism.

In our euphoria, we embrace Deng Xiaoping's rejection of Mao's dictum, "Take class struggle as the key link," the philosophy that caused a generation of turmoil. On the contrary, Mr. Deng decided that production was the key link, and the progress has been stunning.

The last time I was here was soon after Mr. Deng ousted the Maoist Gang of Four. In 1977 the airport had not been expecting a plane, and after a wild scurry about, a bowl of noodles was produced for pioneering Western travelers.

Today the new airport is bustling, immigration procedures are easy and tourists are whisked through bicycle and auto traffic to high-rise hotels. The pictures of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been stripped from Tiananmen Square, which now features the face of "Comrade Sanders" at the world's largest outlet for Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Mr. Deng's triumph is this: The Chinese now not only feed themselves well, they export food — a claim that the Russians cannot make after 70 years. He has redirected the revolution so as to unnerve the indiscipline and entrepreneurial spirit of the Chinese.

At 83, Mr. Deng has now ostentatiously stepped down, taking a group of the old comrades over the side with him, to demonstrate that orderly succession is possible in a Communist state.

Is it? We can be glad to see the relatively good guys in the saddle, but we should not overlook the San Andreas fault running down the middle of this political system. With no outlet for the expression of opposition — democratic or communist — seismic pressure is building. Consider three elements:

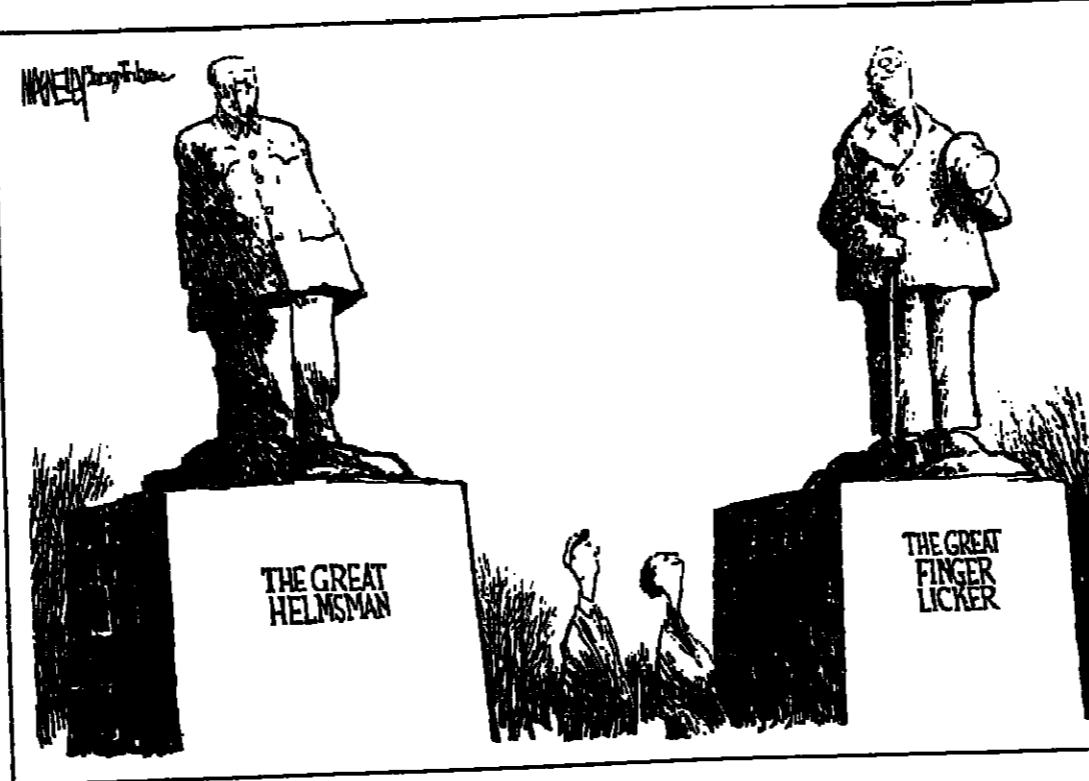
- Mr. Deng has reduced the power of

The Consensus Is Fragile

ALTHOUGH open to the West, the reformers are not interested in the Western model of democracy, which they consider a recipe for chaos. Uninterested in ideology for their own policy-making, they insist on drawing sharp ideological limits on public discussion as a way of maintaining social order. Speech is far freer in the inner councils of the party, where those closest to the power makers can voice harsh criticisms of the system without threatening its existence. The successes of reform will surely bring splits among the leadership. Political consensus is real, but almost certainly temporary.

— Andrew J. Nathan, professor of political science at Columbia University, writing in *Newsday*.

The New York Times



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

University of Chile, Under Pinochet's Thumb, Needs Help

We have received distressing news from colleagues of the University of Chile at Santiago. In 10 years the university budget and the number of students have been reduced by half and no positions have been opened for the recruitment of young scientists and teachers. The university is in distress.

Last September, President Augusto Pinochet designated José Federici as rector without consulting the administration or faculty. The university community resented the move, and 11 out of 13 members of the administrative council, among them the elected deans of the different faculties, took the view that Mr. Federici had no credentials to rule the university. In response, Mr. Federici dismissed four deans and closed the university, impeding access of the professors, students, researchers and technicians to the university premises.

A more recent move by Mr. Federici was to dismiss 35 other professors and expel 150 students. The dismissal of the professors was in flagrant violation of the tenure system instituted in recent years. Criticism mounted, resulting in the replacement of Mr. Federici by Professor Juan de Dios Vial on Oct. 29. Reports indicate that the university has reopened, although the professors who were dismissed have not been reinstated. The appointment of a new rector is an encouraging development, which gives hope for a reversal of the recent repression.

The "key link" is freedom. That is why, with everybody feverishly buying the political contrarian sells.

The New York Times

plies of intellectual freedom, and civil liberties can make known their opposition to the dismissal of the professors of the University of Chile by sending letters to the following persons:

Professor Juan de Dios Vial, Rector, Universidad de Chile, Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins, Santiago, Chile; Juan Antonio Guzman, Ministro de Educacion Publica, same address.

ALEXANDER MAURO, Rockefeller University, New York.

HERSCH M. GERSCHENFELD, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris.

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Veterans of Afghan War Now Fighting for Soviet Recognition and Honor

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Soviet veterans of the war in Afghanistan have started a nationwide organization to combat official neglect of those who served in the war and to press for monuments honoring soldiers killed there, according to organizers of the group.

The formation of the group, which was organized with official support, represents the most significant response to the mounting discontent of Afghanistan veterans, a group whose concerns have only recently begun to emerge.

At a press conference organized Saturday by the youth department of the official press syndicate, Novosti, leaders of the group said they had already won official approval for construction of the first national monument honoring soldiers killed in the fighting.

The national memorial is to be paid for by public contributions and money earned by volunteers work, the veterans said Saturday, and is likely to be erected in Moscow after a design competition.

Nominally the design will honor Soviet combatants slain in all "internationalist" campaigns, from the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s to the 1968 Soviet incursion in Czechoslovakia. But the project is clearly aimed at the veterans of Afghanistan.

Leaders of the group also said that 2,000 service veterans who concluded a conference last week in Ashkhabad approved a list of demands including an end to discrimination against disabled veterans in housing and employment and better pensions for the families of those killed in the war.

The 10-day meeting in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenia, a Soviet republic bordering Afghanistan, was conducted under the auspices of Komsomol, the youth arm of the Communist Party, in an effort to provide official support and direction — for informal veterans groups that have sprung up around the country.

The work of the group was reported Saturday night on the prime-time television news program, and the full list of the veterans' demands is to be published in the official press.

"Some soldiers would also like to know that number," said Vladimir

Klimov, a veterans' leader who served in Afghanistan in 1980 and 1981. "But at this point it is not available to us."

Somewhat like American soldiers who returned from Vietnam, veterans of Afghanistan often find that citizens prefer not to hear about the war or view it with distaste. There is no organized opposition to the Soviet military role, but a recent poll conducted in Moscow by French and Soviet pollsters found that a majority supported total withdrawal.

The veterans who spoke Saturday defended the Soviet decision to enter Afghanistan in 1979, although one, Yuri Sevchenko, who returned in 1982 and now heads a veterans' group in Moldavia, acknowledged that the war had damaged Soviet prestige.

Veterans of the eight-year-long war, often called "Afghanistan," have already organized in different cities, sometimes with local Komsomol support but often on their own.

Visitors to Leningrad in August were startled to see a crowd of 200 veterans in blue berets like those worn by Soviet paratroopers marching through the city in a demonstration intended to draw attention to the sacrifices of Afghanistan veterans.

Veterans who spoke Saturday said the vast majority of the groups were devoted to more constructive activities like providing solace and financial support to families of slain servicemen, who often receive minimal pensions, and offering sports training for youngsters approaching draft age.

The organization of the nationwide veterans group is an effort by Komsomol to steer the veterans in what authorities consider a positive direction, and to make amends for Komosomol's admitted failure to fully address the problems.

The new group, affiliated with the Central Committee of Komsomol, is to press for better veterans' benefits, public respect for those who served, and physical and indoctrination of teen-agers destined for military service.

Afghanistan veterans also complain that they do not receive all of the privileges accorded soldiers who served in World War II. Like veterans of earlier conflicts, Afghanistan veterans are entitled to a better choice of vacation times from their employers, easier entry into universities, and priority in getting telephones. But they are not guaranteed access to the special, better-supplied stores that serve older veterans.

Police arrested a journalist. He was Atau Samad, a freelancer working for the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Selling of the Summit: How White House Uses 'Focus Groups'

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Five men and six women who met in Philadelphia last month were given blank index cards and asked to write answers to two questions.

What would be a good thing to happen to the United States? And who could bring it about?

The United States could have "peace with all its enemies," one of them wrote in response to the first question.

And who could do that? "An extremely good president, Congress and Senate, and a miracle from God."

The participants did not know it, but their answers to these questions and to questions about President Ronald Reagan and U.S.-Soviet relations were part of a White House drive to prepare for the summit meeting next month with Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

A speech that Mr. Reagan is planning to deliver in Denver on Tuesday is a direct outgrowth of what the Philadelphians had to say about the Strategic Defense Initiative, Mr. Reagan's proposed space-based missile defense system.

The two-hour discussion was later scrutinized by high-ranking assistants to Mr. Reagan and by Richard Wirthlin, the president's longtime pollster, whose company set up two such sessions, known as

"focus groups," on Oct. 5 in anticipation of a Reagan-Gorbachev meeting.

The Philadelphia groups talked about their impressions of Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev and about their hopes and expectations for a summit meeting. They also responded to suggested themes and arguments about a treaty that Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev are expected to sign to eliminate medium- and short-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

The focus groups are a common tool in commercial marketing strategy and, increasingly, in political campaigns. Although not influencing the substance of the superpower diplomacy, the technique is an element of the strategy of selling the outcome of the summit meeting to the American people, which is the next step of summit diplomacy.

Although it was not disclosed at the time, the White House used similar groups before Mr. Reagan's meetings with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva and Reykjavik, and before his State of the Union speeches.

In this case, the participants were recruited in Philadelphia by Mr. Wirthlin's company to reflect a cross-section of the population, but they were not told in advance the purpose of the sessions. They met after work in a specially outfitted room where Mr. Wirthlin's analysts could watch and listen to their reactions without being seen.

The president is given a summary of the focus group discussions. Mr. Wirthlin said it gives Mr. Reagan "an opportunity to listen to the voice of the average American and provides him a way to understand the hopes and aspirations" of the

words and language about problems," he said. "You can get underneath the numbers of a poll. You can get them to use words and phrases that you just can't get out of an interview. You get a depth and a feel."

The words and phrases used in Philadelphia will be echoed by Mr. Reagan in the weeks ahead.

The summit meeting next month is different from Mr. Reagan's previous meetings with Mr. Gorbachev because it is the first to center on the expected signing of a major arms-control agreement. The White House staff is using the focus group comments to help structure a campaign for Senate ratification of the intermediate nuclear forces treaty.

According to many public-opinion polls, the agreement generally enjoys wide support among Americans. But the Philadelphia focus groups demonstrated to White House strategists that many people remain ignorant of the details of the treaty and that Mr. Reagan has plenty of room to influence their impressions of it.

"We have an opportunity to develop the landscape, the playing field," said Thomas C. Griscom, the White House communications director, who is taking a leading role in the summit planning along with Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell, the national security adviser. Mr. Griscom and General Powell head

a White House team trying to nail down the summit script, despite such problems as the collapse last Friday of plans for Mr. Gorbachev to address Congress.

One of the surprising findings from the Philadelphia focus group was that the participants saw little direct benefit from an arms agreement that eliminated medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Rather, they attached more significance to the treaty as a "first step" toward reducing the big intercontinental nuclear missiles with which each superpower could attack the other.

This view of the treaty was evident when the focus groups were asked which themes they felt were most compelling for the summit meeting.

The highest score went to "First Step for Peace," which, according to the participants, was the most literal representation of how they felt. By contrast, the participants were ambivalent about "A Step in a New Direction." They were cool toward the theme "Little More Hope for the Human Heart."

The White House subsequently adopted the "first step" idea as the theme of the summit meeting. In a symbolic twist to show that the treaty is not the culmination of the meeting, but rather a starting point, the document is to be signed on the second day of Mr. Gorbachev's meetings, rather than at the end, White House officials said.

Nixon Offered Arms Advice to U.S. and Soviets

Reuters

NEW YORK — Former President Richard M. Nixon sought to broker a meeting and possibly an arms control deal between President Ronald Reagan and the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev. Time magazine has reported.

Time obtained a 26-page confidential memorandum to Mr. Reagan in which Mr. Nixon reported that he had sought to persuade Mr. Gorbachev that he should do business with Mr. Reagan. The memorandum also tried to convince Mr. Reagan that he should seek a major strategic-arms deal.

Mr. Nixon wrote the memo after meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow in July 1986, Time said in its current issue.

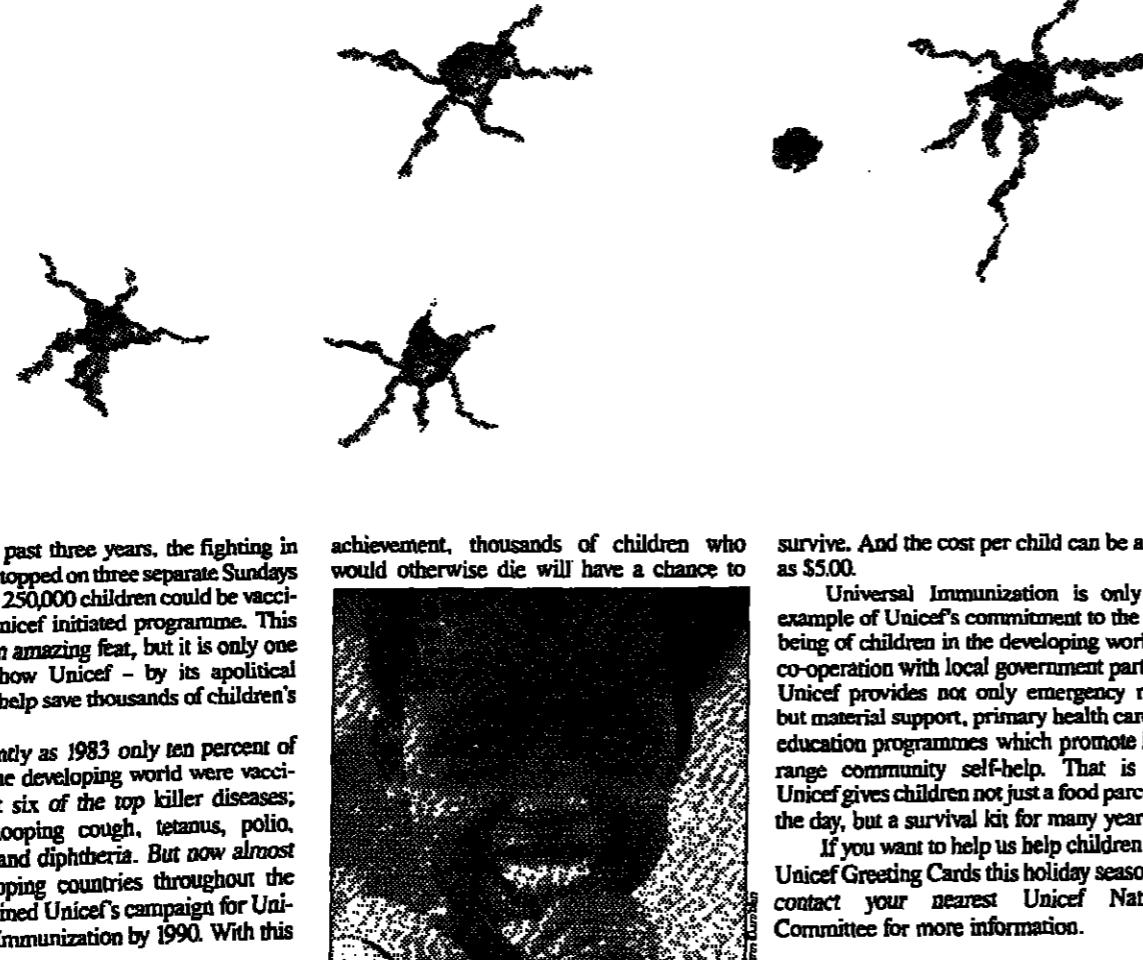
Mr. Nixon told the Soviet leader that Mr. Reagan "could get Senate approval of any agreement he made." He added that failure to reach an agreement might make Mr. Reagan "a powerful critic."

"I don't believe anything I said during the conversation had a greater impact" on Mr. Gorbachev. Time quoted the memo as saying.



A Dhaka bicycle taxi driver wounded on Monday by a bomb explosion is wheeled to the hospital by colleagues.

For Three Days El Salvador Stopped the Fighting and Began Shooting.



For the past three years, the fighting in El Salvador stopped on three separate Sundays so more than 250,000 children could be vaccinated in a Unicef initiated programme. This may sound an amazing feat, but it is only one example of how Unicef — by its apolitical nature — can help save thousands of children's lives.

As recently as 1983 only ten percent of children in the developing world were vaccinated against six of the top killer diseases: measles, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, tuberculosis and diphtheria. But now almost eighty developing countries throughout the world have joined Unicef's campaign for Universal Child Immunization by 1990. With this

achievement, thousands of children who would otherwise die will have a chance to

survive. And the cost per child can be as low as \$5.00.

Universal Immunization is only one example of Unicef's commitment to the well-being of children in the developing world. In co-operation with local government partners, Unicef provides not only emergency relief, but material support, primary health care and education programmes which promote long-range community self-help. That is why Unicef gives children not just a food parcel for the day, but a survival kit for many years.

If you want to help us help children, buy Unicef Greeting Cards this holiday season, or contact your nearest Unicef National Committee for more information.

Children Count on Us. Can We Count on You?

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NIGERIA: From Boom to Bust, Trying for a Comeback

(Continued from Page 1)

dent, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, who was wounded in the Biafra war, announced plans last summer for a phased return to civilian rule by 1992.

Determined to create "a new political generation," General Babangida moved in September to ban virtually all former politicians from running for office.

"The basic idea is that Nigeria starts with a clean slate," said Ray Eku, the editor of Newswatch, an independent weekly.

The blanket ban met with little outcry from Nigerians. Widespread corruption marred two earlier experiences with civilian rule.

The next events on the president's political calendar are local elections, which are to be held Dec. 12 on a nonparty basis. These are to be followed by a constitutional convention, the formation of two political parties, state elections, a national census, and a presidential election in 1992.

"It's going to be a rough five years for Babangida to get through," a senior Western diplomat said.

A major obstacle to creating a Western-style democracy is expected to be the carrying out of a national census. Most estimates put the population at 105 million, but no one knows for sure. The last accepted census was in 1963. Two others were canceled because of charges of fraud.

Counting heads bears directly on what may become the explosive issue in Nigeria in the late 1980s — religion.

Although no one knows whether Nigeria has more Moslems or Christians, most heads of state since independence have been Moslem northerners.

But recently, growing Islamic fundamentalism has strained Nigeria's religious tolerance. Fundamentalist leaders have called for making Nigeria an Islamic state and for imposing Islamic law throughout the land.

"The program is an impressive success," a European banker here said.

As the devaluation suddenly put a true price on imported goods, middle-class Nigerians found that

they could no longer afford foreign cars, shopping trips to London and university education in the United States.

The next round of austerity is expected to cut deeper. Prices of gasoline, electricity, telephone service, rail travel, and mail are to increase soon as government subsidies are withdrawn.

"The Christians are not going to pull out from the north," said Anthony Obubuwa Okogie, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Lagos. "If one hair of a Christian is plucked out, we will pluck out a Moslem hair."

In early November, General Babangida threatened to silence radical religious leaders by warning: "Religious bigotry and zealotism not helped to provide answers to the failures of the past."

With the United States traditionally the largest buyer, oil has accounted for 95 percent of Nigeria's exports. But because of falling energy prices, oil revenues fell from \$24 billion in 1980 to \$5.6 billion in 1986. At the same time, a million new people joined the labor pool each year.

Many Nigerians and Westerners agreed that radical surgery was needed, but nationalist sentiment precluded turning to the International Monetary Fund. Instead, the government obstinately rejected an IMF loan, and then adopted a "structural adjustment program" that was far more radical than what the fund would probably have imposed.

Fixed exchange rates were abolished and the value of the national currency, the naira, was allowed to float. It dropped from parity with the dollar to the current rate of well over four to the dollar.

Commodity marketing boards were abolished, allowing producer prices to rise. Production of cocoa, cotton, and palm oil rebounded.

"We are acutely aware that if we make it in this country, it will shine on the image of the international black community," he said. "If we fail, we will have denoted very badly the image of the international black community."

Leaders. "There have been rumors, which we have been unable to check, that some people were shot," he said.

Reports of casualties were fragmentary and conflicting. In West Germany, the Bonn daily Die Welt cited reports from travelers of two deaths of militiamen and of a larger number of civilians."

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung said witnesses reported seeing one policeman killed when he was hit in the neck by a broken bottle.

Brasov, in Transylvania in the central part of Romania, has been barred to foreign visitors, and the Romanian press has so far not mentioned the demonstration.

CUBANS: Atlanta Takeover

(Continued from Page 1)
three more hostages on Monday for health reasons.

"We do know who they are, and all the families have been notified," he said. Five to seven hostages were released Sunday, and 42 prisoners surrendered.

Mr. Johnson said the prisoners, who earlier demanded assurances of not being deported, were asking to be released.

"The most recent thing that I'm aware of was the demand for pure release — freedom, period," he said.

Prison officials promised not to move unless the hostages were endangered.

"They always remind us that any manner, armed or unarmed, they are going to kill the hostages," Mr. Johnson said. "They've made that very clear."

He said officials had evidence that the hostages had not been harmed.

The 1,000 prisoners at Oakdale riot and set fire on Saturday following Friday's announcement of the U.S.-Cuban agreement.

Thirteen employees and inmates from the center were in stable condition with minor injuries, a hospital spokesman said.

Prison officials said the Cubans, after a day of squabbling, selected six spokesmen on Monday who talked with officials. About three-fourths of the prison complex was destroyed by rioting and fires, officials said.

Mr. Johnson said the inmates, armed with homemade weapons, did not believe government assurances that few of them would be deported to Cuba under the agreement.

He confirmed that 200 to 300 of the prisoners had been approved for parole and that 200 to 300 had their cases before review boards. He said most would have been approved.

Most of the Cubans to be deported were housed at the Atlanta and Louisiana facilities.

London Gunman Shot Dead

Reuters

LONDON — A gunman was shot dead and another was wounded by the police on Monday after a car chase through London streets. Detectives in the suburb of Woolwich, in southeast London, said they were chasing three men who stole cash from a security van.

DEATH NOTICE

RICARDO FUENTES-STONE, Advertising Representative of the International Herald Tribune in Chile, passed away on Saturday, Nov. 18, 1987. He will be missed by his colleagues.

**It's time
for a bridge.**

A black and white photograph showing three identical arched windows side-by-side. Each window has a dark, rounded arch set against a lighter background. The windows are evenly spaced and aligned horizontally.

Until now, even the most sophisticated minicomputer systems had their limitations. By their very design, they were incompatible with other competitors' systems. They were constraining, offering only short-lived, incomplete solutions that were closed like the systems themselves.

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necessary features to offer a fully integrated system as well as the architecture to be completely open; open to working with other systems; open to future technological developments; open to growth.

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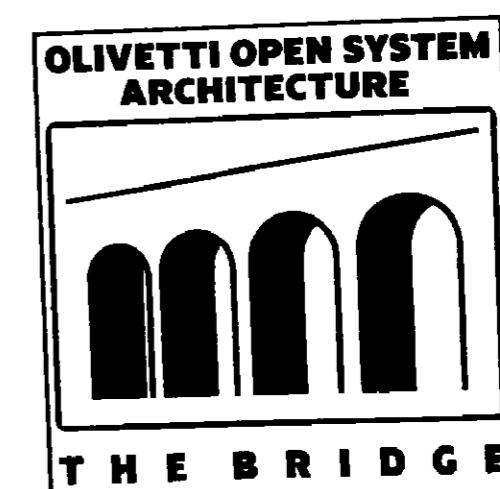
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